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Justice

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
(ILGWU)

5-30-1924

Justice (Vol. 6, Iss. 22)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

"My righteous-
ness I hold fast,
and will not let
it go."

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers
of the world
unite! You
have nothing to
lose but your
chains."

Vol. VI, No. 22.

New York, Friday, May 30, 1924.

Price 2 Cents

Deadlock Continues With Protective Association

Negotiations With Jobbers Still in Progress.

2,000 Cloak Shop-chairmen vote full support of Union's Program in Anticipation of Emergency—Cooper
Union Meeting Adopts Ringing Resolution — International Refutes Groundless Press
Statement by Protective Association's Lawyer.

With the passing of this week, the acute situation in the cloak and suit industry of New York has reached a near-climax. Substantially conditions have not changed much since May 19, when the leaders of the Manufacturers' Protective Association issued their sugar-coated ultimatum to the Union, refusing to discuss with the representatives of our organization the five most important of our demands.

The outstanding events of the week have been a number of meetings called by the leaders of the Union to organize the workers in anticipation of the coming emergency. The Board of Directors of the Joint Board, and the Joint Board itself, have met in special sessions to consider the organizational features of the general strike in the industry which may soon come to pass. The functions of each of the groups working in such a general strike have been outlined and tentative plans decided upon. In addition, on May 27, late in the afternoon, a meeting of all the cloak, suit, skirt and reffer shop-chairmen in Greater New York was held at Cooper Union to discuss the critical situa-

tion in the trade, summoned by the Joint Board to receive instructions from the officers of the organization concerning the work to be done to put their shops in readiness for a possible general strike call.

Shop Chairmen Adopt Unanimous Resolution

The shop chairmen meeting was addressed by President Morris Sigman of the International Union and Israel Feinberg, manager of the Joint Board. President Sigman delivered a long address covering every phase and angle of the situation, which was received with salve and applause. The speech of Israel Feinberg, who followed, was received with great attention and heartily applauded.

Brother Louis E. Langer, secretary of the Joint Board, then read the following resolution, which the shop chairmen adopted by a standing vote without a dissenting voice:

WHEREAS, our Union has for the past three months conducted negotiations with the employers' associations in our industry, for the purpose of the renewal of the collective agreement, and

WHEREAS, the General Executive Board of our International, together with the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York has after thorough discussion and consideration of all the evils prevailing in our trade, presented to the employers a number of proposals to be embodied in the new agreement and to become the new working basis in our industry, and

WHEREAS, our biennial convention recently held in Boston has endorsed our demands and the stand of the General Executive Board and of the Joint Board with regard to this program of action adopted by our Union, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the meeting of the shop chairmen of all the cloak, suit, skirt and reffer shops in Greater New York, assembled at Cooper Union on Tuesday, May 27, 1924, herewith give our unanimous and wholehearted support to the program adopted by the leadership of our organization to accelerate the ill which affect our industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, that with confidence in our ability to carry out this great program, and with full faith in the jus-

Association "Explains"
... for the purpose of de-
fense itself before the public for
its arbitrary stand in refusing even
to discuss the demands of the Union,
the Association through its attorney,
Mr. William Klein, on Saturday, May
24, issued a long statement in which
it branded the demands of the Union
as "staggering," and endeavored to
explain that their refusal to discuss
this plan was based solely on their
keen interest in the welfare of the
public, the retailers and the indus-
try, inasmuch as they would not have
additional costs added to the produc-
ing and retailing of the garments.

In answer to this "explanation,"
President Sigman issued a statement
in which he said that the Union's de-
mands were framed for the pur-
pose of remedying the very conditions
of which the manufacturers complain.

"To brand a proposal for unemploy-
ment insurance as 'staggering,'" Mr.
Sigman's statement continues, "is
typical of the manufacturers' lack of
understanding of the economic issues
involved. Unemployment insurance
is in force in some form in virtually
every important industrial nation in
Europe. More than 12,000,000 work-
ers are covered by a compulsory un-
employment insurance law in Eng-

(Continued on Page 2)

International Forwards Message to Clothing Workers' Federation Congress at Vienna

The Boston convention decided that our Union maintain its affiliation with the International Clothing Workers' Federation, the central body of all garment makers in the world, which was reorganized in 1919 with the aid of our organization.

The Clothing Workers' Federation did not meet in a congress last year owing to a number of difficulties encountered by the organizations of garment workers in Europe. This year, however, some of these obstacles have been overcome and a congress has been called to take place in Vienna, Austria, on the 29th and 30th of May. Owing to the proximity of the date, which made it impossible for the International to pass upon the question of sending a delegate to Vienna, the General Executive Board requested President Sigman to forward the following cable message to the Federation's Congress:

Greetings from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to the Second Congress of your Federation. Regret inability to be represented by delegates. We hope for your progress and advancement.

MORRIS SIGMAN,

President, I. L. G. W. U.

On the agenda of the Clothing Workers' Federation Congress appear a number of highly important subjects, among which are the report of the secretary, the designation of the headquarters of the Federation, the report on the situation in the cloth-

ing industry in the various countries, the problem of emigration and immigration as it affects the clothing industry, and the election of the International Bureau.

Among the proposals submitted for discussion, the outstanding ones are the financing of the Federation by its component unions, the systems of piece-work and week-work in the garment trades, the use of pressing machines, and the subject of enrolling in the Federation the clothing workers in those countries which are not yet affiliated with it.

Ramsay MacDonald Thanks International for Convention Greetings

Our readers who followed the proceedings of the Boston Convention know that the International Union, speaking through the 300 delegates representing it at Boston, forwarded a telegram to Premier MacDonald congratulating the British Labor movement upon the gains they made in the general elections of last winter, and the rise of the British Labor party to the power of government.

President Sigman this week received a letter of acknowledgment from MacDonald's secretary, which we print below:

Raise in International Per Capita Effective August 15

President Sigman Appoints Standing Committees at First
Quarterly Meeting of the G. E. B.

As announced last week, the first quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. opened its sessions in New York on Monday, May 28, in the International Building.

The entire personnel of the General Executive Board was present, including President Sigman and Secretary Baroff, and the two new members of the Board, Max Amdur of

Philadelphia and Isidore Scheinholz of New York.

The meeting took up all the mandates of the Boston Convention, which were referred to the General Executive Board for action, including the various campaign plans, the district organization work, etc. The meeting also paid special attention to the grave situation in the New York cloak and suit industry where a general strike is in the offing.

At the time of this writing the meeting is not over and not all of its decisions have been announced. One important step, however, has already been taken to carry out the instructions of the Convention, in the decision to make the increase of the International per capita effective beginning August 15, 1924. From that day each member, through his or her local, will be paying to the General Office 15 cents per week instead of the ten cents being paid now.

Simultaneously, President Sigman announced the following list of permanent committees of the General Executive Board appointed by him, with the consent of the latter body:

Finance Committee—Joseph Breslaw, Salvatore Ninfo, David Dubinsky, Joseph Heller and Harry Wander.

Appeal and Grievance Committee—Salvatore Ninfo, Joseph Breslaw, Ja-
(Continued on page 2.)

Dear Mr. Sigman:

The Prime Minister was very much obliged for the exceedingly kind telegram that was sent from your Convention assembled in Boston, and asked me to write and thank you very much indeed for the kind thought. He would have wished to write to you himself, but the calls upon him are so continuous that he is being given no chance to deal at present with his own correspondence.

Yours very truly,
ROSE ROSENBERG.

Deadlock Continues with Protective Association

(Continued from page 1)

land. In this country many employers have voluntarily instituted unemployment insurance plans for their workers, notably the Dennison Manufacturing Company, the Fretter & Gamble Company in all its many plants, and the Dutchess Bleachery and Rockland Finishing Company.

"In Chicago, unemployment insurance has been put in force in the men's clothing industry by joint action of the Manufacturers' Association, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Thirty-five thousand workers are affected by this plan alone. Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, one of the country's foremost authorities on unemployment insurance, has been advocating a compulsory unemployment insurance law in that State not only as a relief measure but also because he believes that it will regularize employment and force the manufacturers to adopt methods that will tend to diminish unemployment. The manufacturers' present arguments against unemployment insurance are exactly the same as were advanced against workmen's compensation when this form of social insurance was first advocated. Yet today workmen's compensation is successfully operated in virtually every State of the Union.

"As to the guaranteed period of employment, I want to remind Mr. Klein that the identical plan we are proposing for the New York market has been in force in the Cleveland garment industry for three years and

has been highly successful. The public, too, will be greatly benefited by any check that can be put on the cut-throat competition which is resulting in a continual deterioration of the quality of the product and an unduly high price brought about by over-equipment and over-management.

"The sanitary union label," the statement continued, "will, we are sure, be worth more to the women of the country than the label of the most fashionable Fifth Avenue dressmaker. It will protect the consumers from the danger of the sweatshop product. The Union eliminated the sweatshop by the great strike of 1910. It will under no conditions permit it to sneak back into the industry, and it is confident that the public will stand squarely behind this measure.

"Mr. Klein's statement in regard to wages is camouflage," Mr. Sigman stated emphatically. "We are not demanding an increase. We are merely striving to equalize wages and to establish a scale which shall conform to actual existing conditions. The wages we demand will not increase the manufacturing cost of garments.

"The forty-hour week would be a good thing for all concerned. It would spread out the busy seasons and regularize production and employment. The forty-hour week is a demand for more and not less work.

"The Union is still prepared to resume negotiations," concluded Mr. Sigman, "and will not allow the vic-

ious attacks of the manufacturers to interfere with any possibility of peace. But the employers must be prepared to discuss fully and frankly around the conference table all the issues involved. They cannot dispel the problems of the industry by pretending they do not exist."

Commissioner Shientag's Letter
Another development during last week was the letter received by President Sigman from Industrial Commissioner Bernard L. Shientag of the Department of Labor of the State of New York. This communication was also sent by Commissioner Shientag to the presidents of the three cloak manufacturers' associations operating in the New York cloak market. In his letter Commissioner Shientag urged that "some amicable adjustment of the differences be reached by May 31," and pledged the support of the Department of Labor to do what it could to bring this about. He believed that, if negotiations would continue uninterrupted, much more would be accomplished for everybody concerned.

In reply to this statement, President Sigman wrote to Commissioner Shientag, after reviewing the negotiations for the past three months, that "the Union is still negotiating with the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association and will leave nothing undone to reach an agreement if possible with this group of employers. He also declared that the Union is still ready to resume negotiations with the Protective group of manufacturers, in an earnest effort to solve the vexing and complex problems which plague the cloak and suit trade of our city." "But," he added, "the employers must be prepared to discuss fully and frankly around the conference table all the issues involved."

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The Joint Board of the Cloakmakers in New York calls a mass meeting of all members to discuss the lingering slack season in the trade and to make preparations for the coming season. The speakers were Bernstein, Tolchuck, Sigman and Blinn. They condemned the professional "kickers" who are always ready to charge the Union and its representatives with all that happens in the industry. Sigman pointed out that the employers would be willing to pay millions to keep this very "correct" season which the perennial malcontents are always abusing.

The Montreal Cloakmakers' Union calls a strike in the shop of the Bellows Garment Company for having discharged union men and engaged non-union workers in their city. The Union demanded the reinstatement of the discharged union men and the abolition of the system which makes it obligatory on the workers to bribe the foremen before they would get any work.

William Simmeson, member of Local 23, and a former business agent, is ordered to leave his shop and not to come any more to the section meetings and shop meetings for six months, for having attempted to betray the Union and make common cause with the employers.

Italian members of the cloak locals of New York request the permission to form a local for themselves. The Joint Board is of the opinion that it would be difficult to control the Italian members nor could they be relied upon to conduct their business in a local of their own. On general principles the Joint Board decides that it is not advisable to have locals according to nationalities but if it allows the Italian workers to have a branch with an executive board and a paid secretary.

G. E. B. Standing Committees

(Continued from page 1)

enly Heller, David Dubinsky, Elias Reiberg, Israel Feinberg, Isidore Scheinholtz.

Educational Committee—Abraham Baroff, Israel Feinberg, Fannie M. Cohn, Harry Wander, Max Amdur.

Press Committee—Morris Sigman, Abraham Baroff, Salvatore Ninfo.

The following special committees have also been appointed:

Philadelphia Committee—Jacob Halperin, Harry Wander, Salvatore Ninfo.

Local 9 Committee—Jacob Heller, Joseph Breslaw, David Dubinsky, Elias Reiberg, Samuel Lefkowitz.

Local 1 Committee—Joseph Breslaw, David Dubinsky, Salvatore Ninfo, Max Amdur, Harry Wander.

THE N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

Among the other matters discussed by the General Executive Board was the organization of the New York Joint Executive Council of Miscellaneous Trades. It will be recalled that this Council was formed some three months ago, but that only four out of the ten locals which remain

outside of the Joint Board, have so far affiliated with it—namely, Locals 6, 90, 91 and 132. It was deemed expedient at that time not to rush the complete formation of the Council until the convention had met and given its sanction to it.

The Boston Convention, following out the recommendation of the General Executive Board's report, did approve unreservedly the formation of such a council in Greater New York and also instructed the General Executive Board to carry out, in conjunction with this Council, a big drive in New York, simultaneously in all the miscellaneous and dress trades, for the purpose of enrolling the thousands of unorganized workers in these trades into the Union.

To realize this plan it is, of course, first necessary that all these smaller locals join the Council, and under the convention resolution, such joining has become mandatory. The next thing is to appoint at the head of the Council able and energetic leadership to carry out this mandate and to prepare the ground for the organizing campaign. The task before the Council is certainly big enough to warrant the placing of the best organizing talent at the disposal of the International to carry it out.

Designers, Local 45, to Meet Next Monday at Hotel McAlpin

The United Designers of Ladies' Wear, Local 45, of the I. L. G. W. U., are stirring again. Stimulated by the decision of the Boston convention, which promised them help and assistance to enroll into the organization every worker in their craft in New York City, the designers are calling a big meeting for Monday, June 2, at 6:30 p. m., in the Blue Room of the Hotel McAlpin, Broadway at 33d street, to which every person employed in the designing rooms in all the branches of the ladies' garment industry has been invited.

The meeting will be addressed by Morris Sigman, president of the International Union; Vice-president Israel Feinberg, manager of the Cloak

and Dress Joint Board, with which the designers are affiliated, and Louis E. Langer, secretary of the Joint Designers' Local 45, district manager of the Cloakmakers' Union, will preside.

While the majority of the designers in the women's wear industry, particularly in the cloak and suit line, are members of Local 45, there still remain many hundreds of these skilled artisans outside of the Union. It is to reach these that this mass meeting is being called, and this object is particularly important now in view of the controversy in which the cloak and suit industry of New York is involved and the importance of the protection of the interests of the designers in whatever agreement the Union will in time reach with the employers in the industry.

Forest Park Unity House Will Open on June 13th

The great estate of the Dressmakers' Union of New York, known as the Unity House and located at Forest Park, Pike County, Pa., which serves as a summer vacation house for our members, will open for the 1924 season on Friday, June 13.

Registrations for the Unity House will begin on May 28, and those who know of the splendid attractions which this summer place offers to our members will do well to register on time. The new season will be ushered in by a splendid concert and dance.

Prices for board will remain the same as last year. The registration office will be located in the office of the Dressmakers' Union, 16 West 21st street. Out-of-town members can register by mail by including a check or money order.

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JUSTICE

New York City

The Spirit of Our Convention

By S. YANOFSKY

I cannot understand how some people manage to "put over" conventions in the course of a short few days. Come to think, our own convention did not squander its time thoughtlessly—nevertheless, it took us fully two weeks, with a couple of night sessions for extra measure, to complete our work. Is it because we are sort of slow folks while the others are a fast-moving lot?

True, we had at this convention more speakers than at any other previous convention, owing to its jubilee character. Yet, all told, these speeches did not occupy more than two days and, with a day spent in reading telegrams, we had nine days left for business. Nevertheless, we had to put on extra speed during the last few days to finish the work of the convention. Why?

The answer is, our convention is an advisory assembly in the broadest and deepest sense of the word. At our conventions, questions receive thorough discussion, and whoever desires to say anything with regard to these questions, is given unlimited opportunity to do so.

That is why our conventions are so interesting. We always have visitors at our biennial gatherings, but this time there were more of them than ever before and neither the rains of the first week nor the beautiful weather of the second week could keep them from coming to Convention Hall. The spectacle of three hundred men and women, coming together from various parts of the country to exchange opinions and ideas, some calmly and deliberately and others with display of tempera-

ment, on problems of burning interest to them and to the hundreds of thousands they represent, is of sufficient interest to attract any thinking person. For it must be kept in mind that though this was a convention of the International and most problems discussed by it touched upon the interests of our industry, the range of the subjects discussed by it was as broad as the wide world, and many of these subjects, though seemingly outside of our sphere in point of fact, are closely intertwined and bound up with the interests of the International.

The physiognomy of our convention, and its intellectual make-up, so to say, became particularly clear-cut and outstanding when it took up for discussion the deeds, or rather misdeeds, of the present rulers of Russia. Already in the applause which greeted the appearance of the committee representing the Anarchist Red Cross during the early days of the convention, one could foresee the spirit which moved all our delegates with regard to the soul-stiffing and opinion-mothering policies of those who are at the helm in Russia today. But it was the vote on the resolution for freedom for political prisoners in the land of the Soviet which sealed the fate of that handful of so-called "lefts" in our midst who are maligning our elected leaders because they have had the wisdom and the firmness to speak and act as they did. That applause spelled the complete sanction of the General Executive Board with regard to the T. U. E. L. and the policy adopted by our International in the various other phases of

this problem. At that moment, I was already certain that the convention would faithfully fulfill what the best friends of the International had expected of it, and that no demagogues would divide it a hair's breadth from its fixed purpose.

To come back to our subject, why did our convention present such an attraction to outsiders, who occupied every available inch of space day after day? To my mind it is the many-sidedness, the versatility of the debates and discussions, which formed its chief magnet.

There is speech-making going on at every Labor convention, too, and they do not lack in "keynote" orations, which receive their normal share of conventional "burays," but there is something specially interesting in the speeches one listens to at an International convention. I do not doubt that our delegates listened with just as profound interest to the well-known merchant who came to scold our representatives because they did not make a greater effort to understand the point of view of the manufacturer, as they listened to the speech of President Johnston of the Machinists, who made a powerful appeal for the International to join the movement for progressive political action. Nor was I the least bit nervous when Mayor Curley of Boston of a sudden diverted his welcome speech into a "boom" for Governor Smith of New York as a Presidential candidate. Our delegates are courteous people, but they never lose sight of the fact that their conventions are not political gatherings. In all of this, the character of our International reflected itself as clearly as in a mirror. It has its own well-laid-out way, yet it is ready to listen to the opinions of others. It gives its members full freedom of discussion and opinion, but it will not tolerate the forcing of any one's ideas, plans and politics upon our membership and organization against their will.

From this point of view, the Jubilee convention was the most interesting our International has ever had. There was not a faction or a striving in the

Labor and social movement that did not find expression there in one form or another. The convention was marked throughout by a fine tolerant and yet firm spirit. It was an instructive convention, and we know that our delegates left it wiser than when it began, more experienced and more conversant with their own organization.

Yet I should not like the impression to prevail that our delegates did nothing but work at this convention. That would be entirely out of accord with the spirit of this anniversary gathering and the mood of our people. While the sessions lasted, everybody was deeply concerned with what was going on on the floor. But after the gavel fell, we had celebrations galore and such that will leave a lasting impression.

The evenings of these two weeks were indeed crowded with affairs of all kinds, not mentioning the great banquet given to all the delegates and to the general hundred and twenty from New York and Boston. The excursion down Boston harbor was another memorable event, and the private banquets arranged by the presser, finisher and cutter delegates of Boston to their co-delegates of these same crafts from other cities, were no less entertaining. The Russian program given by the Boston Symphony Orchestra in Symphony Hall, which our delegates attended as guests of the Forward Association, rounded out the series of entertainments to which we were treated at the Jubilee convention.

I hope that I have succeeded in giving our readers a general conception of the spirit that prevailed at our convention. I only desire to add that all that the convention has accomplished was carried out in this spirit, and those who have watched its work will not disagree with me. We shall again return to a discussion in these columns of the most important resolutions and the treatment accorded them by the convention, and, as our readers follow these reviews, they will not fail to become convinced that in every one of its actions, big and small, the convention remained true to its principles and policy and to the traditions which have guided it during the twenty-five years of its existence.

Unemployment in the Various Countries

There has been little change in the state of unemployment in the various countries within the last two months. In Germany and Great Britain there is a steady decline, and also in Czechoslovakia.

The following general survey of unemployment in the various countries has been compiled from such information as is available:

Austria: The number of persons in receipt of unemployment benefit at the end of January was 119,309, against 97,573 in the preceding month, and 161,227 at the end of January, 1923.

Australia: Of 380,000 members of trade unions which sent in reports, 6.2 per cent were unemployed at the end of December last, against 7.4 per cent in September, and 7.2 per cent at the end of March, 1923.

Belgium: Of the 647,031 persons insured against unemployment, 23,450 were at the end of January, 1924, either wholly unemployed or working on short time. At the end of December, 1923, the number of wholly unemployed was 11,917 or 1.7 per cent, and that of persons in short-time work 12,750 or 1.9 per cent. The corresponding numbers in March, 1923, were 4,788 or 0.8 per cent and 12,010 or 1.8 per cent.

Canada: At the end of January, 7.6 per cent of the trade union membership were unemployed, against 7.2 per cent in the previous month and 7.8 per cent at the end of January, 1923.

Czechoslovakia: According to official statistics the number of unemployed in receipt of benefit at the end of February was 60,300 against 57,957 in the previous month. In addition to these, 16,800 persons working on short time received benefit through their employers. An official estimate placed

the total number of unemployed at the end of the year at about 200,000.

Denmark: Unemployment is still very considerable. According to information received from the trade unions and the public Labor Exchanges, the percentage of unemployment at the end of February was 21.3 against 21 in the previous month and 23 at the end of February, 1923. On October, 1923, on the other hand, the percentage was only 7.6. On March 15, 1924, there were 54,360 unemployed in the whole country, against 59,100 in March, 1923.

France: On March 1, the number of unemployed registered at the public Labor Exchanges was 11,239, of whom 7,971 were men and 3,268 women, against a total of 12,068 in the preceding month. The number of unemployed in receipt of benefit on March 1, was 1,042, against 1,248 in the preceding month and 2,745 on March 1, 1923.

Germany: Of the 4,365,182 members of the 86 unions which sent in reports, 1,158,586 or 26.5 per cent were unemployed on January 26, against 28.2 per cent in the previous month. The number of unemployed in receipt of benefit in the unoccupied Territories has steadily declined since the 15th of January; on January 15, 1,582,852 wholly unemployed persons were in receipt of benefit; on February 1, 1,430,838, and on February 15, 1,302,876. The number of short-time workers in receipt of benefit was on January 15, 635,839, and on February 15, 257,840. In the occupied Territories unemployment still remains very considerable. The number of wholly unemployed and short-time workers is still over a million.

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12 FREE VACATIONS



Bird's-Eye View of the Unity House, Showing the Main Building and the Surrounding Eleven Cottages

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TO

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JUNE

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JUNE

Emigration Problems of European Labor

By DR. HERMAN FRANK

It might be of interest at this time, when so much is being written and spoken in America about the new immigration bill which is to become a law soon, to briefly review this problem from the point of view of European Labor.

How do the workers of Europe regard their own emigration problems in general and the severe restrictions which are being planned in America against immigration in particular? How will this new law affect Labor emigration from Europe and which countries will, as a result of this law, become new immigration centers?

In trying to answer these questions, it must be stated, first of all, that the emigration problem in Europe does not occupy first place among the pressing problems of Labor. The reason for this is that emigration is, after all, the final measure which Labor resorts to in order to solve the multitude of grave situations which the present crises created for the workers, such as unemployment, commercial and industrial stagnation, etc. It stands in relation also that a problem which involves the leaving of one's birthplace and the seeking of a new home and the means of existence across seven seas, cannot become very popular among the masses. Small wonder therefore that the problems of emigration are discussed under the breath, so to say, in Europe. Nevertheless, at this particular moment, this question is beginning to arouse open debating, and the attitude of the workers towards it is becoming more and more fixed and definite. We shall first attempt to summarize the facts as the latest articles in the European Labor press, official documents and statements by leading theoreticians of the European Labor movement.

The great debacle created by the war notwithstanding, which under ordinary circumstances should have brought about a tremendous demand for Labor, unemployment in Europe is growing from year to year. It can be safely stated that, as long as the European chaos does not cease and an atmosphere of true peace take the place of the war craze which brought about the four-year period of carnage and the clumsy, brutal peace which followed it, the stream of immigration will keep on continually swelling. Unemployment has from the very beginning struck its hardest blows at the so-called "victorious" nations, notably England and Italy. Recently, however, Germany in all forms is beginning to be felt very sharply even in the vanquished countries with highly developed industrial systems—Austria and Germany. In the last six months, unemployment in Germany assumed catastrophic forms and has made idle not less than four million workers. Under such conditions, it is not to be wondered that the emigration in Germany would sooner or later come up to the surface and become a vital question for tens of thousands of working-class families.

It is interesting to observe that emigration from the half-destroyed countries of Central Europe finds tremendous obstacles from the very outset, such as the broken-down condition of the currency, the bitterness of former war-enemies, etc. Nevertheless, the emigration from Germany and Austria keeps on growing. In 1923-1924, Germany for the first time filled its quota of immigrants to the United States, over 67,000 persons. American restrictions, however, will not stop this powerful stream, which will have to seek other channels for its progress.

American restrictions will no doubt contribute materially towards the principal change in European emi-

gration which began about five years ago. It will give rise to such immigration centers as have heretofore played but a small part. These new countries, the Argentine, Brazil and Mexico, will attract to themselves wide masses of wanderers from Central Europe. These countries are much in need of fresh human colonization material and they are offering special privileges to European emigrants, such as cheap passage, new landing accommodations, etc.

How this new situation affects emigration from Central Europe can be seen from the figures covering emigration from Austria in the last two years. We are quoting figures for the most important immigrant countries.

	1922	1923
United States	3,356	9,385
Brazil	1,472	3,452
Argentina	585	2,267
Canada	25	72
Mexico	22	57

The Austrian quota in the United States amounts to only two-thirds of the general number of emigrants to all American countries, which in 1923 amounted to no less than 15,500 persons. Austrian emigrants are largely skilled laborers, such as metalworkers, woodworkers and farmers, who are compelled to seek new homelands in which to settle in place of the United States, which heretofore has been practically the only land which attracted to itself immigrants from Austria. The same holds good for Germany, with the exception that the crisis in that country is much sharper and the Germans cannot find a solution for it through the emigration such as the small Austrian republic can carry out without any difficulty.

Immigration of labor from England is being regulated quite differently. A few years ago, the House of Commons adopted a bill called the British Empire Settlement act, to facilitate the colonization of the dominions across the seas by British citizens. The law aimed at two purposes: to ease the condition of the unemployed, and to settle the sparsely populated colonies of Britain with English citizens. As yet this law has brought comparatively small results because, under present capitalist conditions, colonization is still a very difficult and hazardous problem. Twenty years ago, the English imperialism set to persuade the workers that the South African war was fought for the purpose of opening new labor markets for the English miners in the Transvaal. Yet after the war the English capitalists imported Chinese coolies to these new colonies, which brought riches to the mining promoters but little work and earnings to English workers.

On the other hand, it is generally known that in America and New Zealand, where the Labor unions have practically full control of the Government, the gates are only partly open to white workers and entirely closed to Orientals and Negroes. A continent that is almost as large as the United States and is very rich in natural resources is thus being monopolized by a population of twelve to fifteen million white. This is one of the very many contradictions which the immigrant problem involves under the environs of a capitalist system based on competition and hired labor.

Nevertheless, the emigration problem in England as yet bears the aspect of a purely internal affair which is to be settled at home, in spite of the fact that the emigration from England to America, amounts to almost 80,000, a much larger figure than the emigration from England to her colonies.

Practically every country in Europe is strongly interested in free immigration to America. Owing to the present international situation, however, there is practically no hope that the European countries can, with any degree of success, test against the new immigration restrictions. So far only Italy officially protested to Washington and it remains to be seen what the international immigration conference being held in Rome now and summoned upon the initiative of the American Secretary of Labor, Mr. Davis, will accomplish.

According to the decisions of all the International Socialist congresses, for a generation or more past, all Labor parties are to demand free immigration, unentangled by imperialistic ambitions and serving only productive purposes. These resolutions, however, remained only on paper and did not have any effect even in countries where Labor democracies are strong and influential. Yet, now, when Socialist problems have ceased to be a theory, Labor is beginning to approach the immigration question in full earnestness. In England voices are heard demanding that the emigration policy be radically changed. This protest comes largely from se-

called Guild Socialists or syndicalists who work hand in hand with the Labor party. They argue that in such new countries as America and Australia, a sharper and more harmful individualism has arisen than in Europe, and that in these lands the old European spirit with its traditions is totally absent. They demand that emigration be organized on a group basis, each group consisting of a certain number of families which can operate economically with success and maintain the old spirit and old cultural traditions in their new homes. Attempts are already being made in England to colonize sections of South-east Australia on this basis.

It can be seen, therefore, that the immigration problem is arousing lively interest in Europe, though it is still in the background in comparison with other more burning problems. This is the principal difference between the attitude towards this question in America and in Europe. But it is generally realized that under present social and economic conditions, immigration, like all other important international problems, cannot be solved successfully as long as competition and privilege are the pillars of the existing economic order. The immigration problem, however, is becoming a vital subject of discussion among the European workers and they are paying more attention to it today than at any period heretofore.

Trade Union Women Plan Labor Institute

The ninth biennial convention of the National Women's Trade Union League announces a Labor Institute for the delegates immediately following the convention. Six days will be devoted to this purpose at the Brookwood School, Katonah, New York.

The convention will bring together women from many trades and occupations, who, according to Miss Elisabeth Christman, secretary-treasurer of the National Women's Trade Union League, will welcome "the fresh air of new ideas."

"While the week's Labor Institute at Brookwood is planned primarily for the delegates to the biennial convention," says Miss Christman, "we are especially urging the enrollment of those workers who are actively engaged in the work of the trade union movement. These workers are asked constantly to give of their knowledge and out of their experience, and to them a short, intensive course as planned by the committee of the National Women's Trade Union League and the Brookwood faculty will be the means of bringing 'fresh air' and new ideas on old problems."

On the program of topics for study for institute week appear the following: Women in the Labor Movement; Aids and Obstacles to Progress for Women in Industry; Basic Factors in Present-Day Trade Union Action; Waste in Industry; New Methods of Improving Production and Workers' Participation in Management; New Methods and New Meaning of Collective Bargaining; New Sources for Wages, studied from the Economist's Approach and the Manager's Approach; Attitude of the Courts in Labor Disputes; Labor Legislation and Social Insurance; Methods and Agencies of Labor Law Enforcement; Some Union Activities in Health, Sanitation and Accident Prevention Work; Progress of the Workers' Education Movement in the United States; Labor Banking; Cooperation and Insurance; Economic Basis of International Relations; European and International Labor Movements; the Foreign Policy of the United States Government and its Effect on Labor.

Among the leaders of these discussions will be Miss Fannie Cohen, secretary of the Education Department, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Miss Mary Van Kleeck, director of industrial studies, Russell Sage Foundation; David J. Saposs, instructor of trade union history, Brookwood Labor Institute; Stuart Chase of the New York Labor Bureau; William Leisner, chairman, Board of Arbitration, men's clothing industry; N. I. Stone, statistician, of Rochester; John Fitch, New York School of Social Work; Spencer Miller, secretary, Workers' Education Bureau; Peter J. Brady, president, Federation Bank of New York; Cedric Long, secretary, Cooperative League of America; Charles F. Neuhil, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Felix Adler of the Baltimore Sun; A. J. Master, chairman of faculty, Brookwood Labor Institute; Lewis S. Gannett, associate editor, The Nation; Miss Tracy Copp, special agent for industrial rehabilitation, Federal Bureau for Vocational Education; Mrs. Maud Swartz, compensation adviser, New York Women's Trade Union League; Harriet Silverman, Workers' Health Bureau; Theresa Wolfson, former educational supervisor, Clockmakers' Joint Board of Sanitary Control; F. A. Silcox, economist and statistician for the New York Printing Employers' Association.

Delegates to the National Women's Trade Union League convention and other active workers in the Labor movement are eligible to these courses of study. The Brookwood School is located in the Westchester Hills, and the delegates will be accommodated on the grounds. The chairman of the National Women's Trade Union League Committee, which is arranging the courses, is Miss Rose Schneiderman, national vice-president of the League, and a member of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union.

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EDITORIALS

WAR OR PEACE?

Such is the problem today confronting 50,000 workers in the cloak industry of New York and tens upon tens of thousands of others who come directly or indirectly in contact with this trade.

As yet no definite answer can be given to this question, as it depends entirely on those who still play the part of the industry's employers—the manufacturers and the jobbers. Upon their action in the next few days depends whether we shall continue to have peace in the cloak industry, or whether fighting on a large scale shall take the place of peace.

In place of answering this question, we shall, for the time being, make an attempt to point out those who should be held responsible for this prospective war, should it break out. We wish that all those who are earnestly interested in this controversy might know whom to blame for the breach of the peace. We desire to point out before the court of public opinion the true culprits, and we have no doubt of the nature of the verdict which this high tribunal will render.

The facts in brief are as follows:

In the last few years conditions in the cloak industry have been going from bad to worse and they have now become well-nigh intolerable for the 50,000 workers engaged in it. Had the Union not entered into an agreement with the manufacturers, jobbers and sub-manufacturers two years ago, it would have sought long ago to make an end to this unbearable state of affairs. But the Union treats its agreements not as "scraps of paper," and it was therefore compelled to bear up in silence during the life of the contract.

Yet, the Union did not remain idle. Anticipating the expiration of the agreement, it conducted a thorough and conscientious investigation of conditions in the cloak industry. Originally the Union wanted to do it jointly with the manufacturers, but the latter always found an excuse for dodging the inquiry. They objected to impartial investigations making a survey, on the grounds of which practical recommendations would be made to both parties. And they managed to frustrate each new attempt by placing obstacles in the way.

The Union, nevertheless, conducted an inquiry on its own account and found conditions truly horrible. It found chaos, lack of system and planning, and haphazard wasteful methods. It found the cloakmakers eking out a miserable existence, and it discovered that with all its machinery, it could not under present conditions control the making of all cloaks under true union conditions.

The inquiry further brought out the fact that of the 3,000 shops where the cloaks are made, in New York City, at least 2,000 are entirely superfluous and a detriment to all but a few producers in the industry. It is needless that cloakmakers were going around idle for longer periods than would be necessary if there were order in the cloak business. And it concluded that, if matters were allowed to go on as heretofore, it is quite likely that the sweatshop conditions of old would again return to the industry.

On the basis of these facts, the best minds in our organization prepared a program for the improvement of conditions for everyone in the industry—for the workers who make the cloaks, for the public which buys them, and for the manufacturer who is contented with what is usually termed as "legitimate" profits. This program was read to our members in every cloakmakers' local. It was explained and discussed in our press and finally adopted unanimously as the only solution for the ills in our industry.

This done, the representatives of our Union laid our program before the jobbers, the manufacturers and the sub-manufacturers. The jobbers have not, as yet, given a final answer to our proposals. True, they replied to our demands and received a thorough answer from us. But, for the most part, they are still negotiating with them and we may yet hope that before the agreement expires, they might come to see that there is no other way out for peace and progress in our industry except through the adoption of this program.

The Protective Association, however, gave the Union its final answer, which was as unexpected as it was violent. To the five principal demands of the Union, they had but one rejoinder—"undebatable."

Among these "undebatable" points, the gentlemen from the Protective Association considered, for instance, such a "staggering" demand as the introduction of such working system in our industry as would enable the workers to work at least

thirty-eight weeks in the year. To them, it would seem, it is not enough that workers in a great and rich industry like ours are to go idle for a mere fourteen weeks during the year.

Of course, we are mentioning thirty-eight weeks only in order to illustrate the situation. It is quite probable that, after a thorough discussion, the number of the guaranteed work-weeks would have to be made either somewhat less or more than thirty-eight. What the Union, however, is after is the recognition of the principle that the workers who are the backbone of the industry are entitled to make a living from it all year round. We cannot imagine any person with a spark of humanity in him who would consider such a demand as "undebatable." Yet, the Protective group of employers would consider it in that light and refuse to even discuss this proposal with us.

Nevertheless, while they would not consider a discussion with the representatives of the Union on these five principal demands, these manufacturers did not consider it below their dignity to debate them in the public press. Their attorney, Mr. Klein, took it upon himself last Saturday to explain to the public why his clients consider the demands of the Union as impossible. Of course, he must have found it much easier to debate in the press than before the representatives of the Union, who would be likely to refute on the spot any misstatement or false averment.

At any rate, today we know why the Protective group is so strongly opposed to these demands. We shall quote from this statement a few lines which might throw a light on the particular lines of reasoning of our opponents:

"The Union has asked for a guarantee of a minimum number of weeks' work for its members. In other words, it wants the employers to retain the workers for a specified period regardless of whether or not the foremen have enough work to keep the employees occupied over that length of time.

"The manufacturer has no such guarantee of work from the retailer. He has no way of gauging in advance of a season, just how long he can provide work for his factory force. If his styles are not right, if no sales promotion efforts are unsuccessful, he will be confronted by the unprecedented spectacle of being compelled to pay for services he does not require and consequently does not utilize.

"If the manufacturer is to stay in business, that unwarranted expenditure must be defrayed in part at least, by the retailer, and in turn by the ultimate consumer. Both will pay for something they do not receive. All fundamental economic laws will be subordinated to the dictates of the Union.

"Because of its seasonal aspect and the important part played in it by style and weather, guarantees of employment in the apparel field cannot logically be given. Such a guarantee, were it imposed upon the industry, would be nothing short of confiscatory and the Association believes that it must reject all consideration of it upon that ground."

As we lack space to go into detail in refuting Mr. Klein's assertions, we shall have to limit ourselves to only a few of them.

His first statement is that the Union wants the employers to retain the workers for a specified period regardless of whether or not he has work to keep them occupied or not. Mildly speaking, this is considerably distorted. The Union demands a minimum of work-weeks and not the employment of workers all year around. That in itself is sufficient proof that the Union demands no wages for the workers who are not engaged in production, but that the Union is interested to reach a conclusion as to how many weeks in the year the workers in the cloak industry are to be employed, and for such a number of weeks it would want the employers to guarantee wages for the workers.

Our manufacturers will not demand from their landlords that they be not charged rent during those months when they are not busy in the shops, nor will they ask their foremen and superintendents to stop receiving wages during the idle months. The only unprotected victim of the slack period appears to be the worker, and the Union is endeavoring to ameliorate to some extent this condition and to make the intolerably long periods of idleness shorter.

Again, the assertion that the employer cannot guarantee the workers a fixed number of work-weeks owing to the retailers, styles and weather conditions, is also far from the truth. In the cloak industry of Cleveland, we have had for the last few years such a guarantee of a minimum of work-weeks and this arrangement works out quite smoothly, the retailer, styles and changeable weather notwithstanding. Now, is there any foundation in the fact that the consumer and the retailer must have to pay higher prices for garments if the program of the Union is adopted. We believe that women's garments will cost cheaper after order instead of chaos is brought into the cloak industry. Huge sums which are now wasted will be saved and the legitimate man in the business will be in a position to know how much a garment should cost and what its wholesale and retail prices should be.

The public in general will benefit, to our mind, from the introduction of a fixed number of work-weeks for the employees in the cloak industry. It is quite probable that some misfits among the employers will have to give up manufacturing cloaks. But that would not be such a misfortune for the industry as a whole. The abler, the better fit, will remain and that will be a gain for the consumer, the public. It is also true that some manufacturers might have to content themselves with smaller profits, but we fail to see where any detriment to the public might arise through such an expediency.

The same is true with regard to the other four points of the Union's program which the manufacturers declare as "undebatable." If they are undebatable, it is perhaps in a different

What the British Labor Government Has Done for the Worker

(An interview with the Editor of the "Daily Herald," Mr. Hamilton Fyfe)

By MAX GOLDSTEIN
(Special Correspondence to JUSTICE)

Should the working class enter politics as a working class, or should it not? To this question the American and the British Labor movements have given different answers. It may be that the answer cannot be the same for all countries, that what is the right way for one is the wrong way for another. It may be that one is all right, and the other all wrong.

In any case, now that the American Federation of Labor has again declared its policy of non-intervention in politics as a distinct party, it seems a good time for American workers to check up on what the British movement has actually accomplished for the workman since it took over the Government five months ago. After the years of talking in the air, back and forth, about what a Labor Government could and could not do, at last we have some real facts against which to measure our theories. The purpose of the paragraphs that follow is to supply these facts to help readers make up their own minds.

Of course, allowances have to be made. Five months, after all, is only five months. Besides, the Labor Government in England has no clear majority in the House of Commons, and less than a dozen members altogether in the House of Lords; it can only get anywhere by making all sorts of political compromises and by keeping back altogether bills on which the other parties are not even willing to compromise.

To get these facts, the writer went to the one man whose job it is to keep track of Labor developments from day to day—the editor of the leading English Labor organ, the "Daily Herald." As he introduced himself, Mr. Fyfe showed him a telegram of congratulation from the I. L. G. W. U. to Premier MacDonald which had just come in.

Mr. Fyfe looks exactly like the American idea of an English gentleman—tall, well-built, white-haired, red-checked and blue-eyed, with a slow-but-decisive manner of speaking.

He plunged at once into the question—what had the Labor Govern-



Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, who has given an interview to JUSTICE, is the editor of the London "Daily Herald," the leader of the Labor press of England. Mr. Fyfe was well-known as a Liberal before he joined the Labor ranks.

ment accomplished, apart from politics, in the interests of the workman?

"The main trouble of the working class in England today," he explained, "is unemployment. Naturally, therefore, most of the achievements of the Government have been toward reducing and relieving unemployment. We had taken over from previous Governments the policy of unemployment 'doles,' or money payments to the unemployed.

"These have been criticized as being gifts or charity. They are nothing of the kind—no more than the money you receive from an insurance company if your house burns down. They are a form of national unemployment insurance.

"We have improved the administration of these payments, so that there is no longer an interval, or 'trap,' between the end of one period of unemployment relief and the beginning of the next. As the things used to be, the unemployed man often got no money at all, or else had to

appeal to the local Poor Law Guardians for relief, like an ordinary charity case.

"In addition to relieving the results of unemployment, the Government has been tackling the problem more directly by promoting all sorts of public works on a large scale intended to supply work to men who are perfectly able and willing to work, but who have no chance for a regular job as things stand in England today. Most of this is done through the local authorities, who are building roads, putting up public buildings, laying sewers, and the like, with the object of relieving unemployment while improving the community.

"This brings us right into the housing problem. The Government is now ready with its housing program, intended to produce 150,000 new houses a year, with the cooperation of the building trades, the contractors and builders, the investors, and all the other interests involved, under the guidance of Mr. Joseph Wheatley, the Minister of Health. When it goes through, the Government will put up part of the money for building new houses, thousands of workmen now on the streets will have jobs, and the housing crisis which is crowding families together into a few small rooms and even preventing young people from marrying for lack of a home, will be greatly relieved.

In the meantime, the Government has been doing its best to prevent workmen from suffering from the housing shortage. It has prevented landlords from raising the rents too far, figuring that even if a few landlords do suffer under this arrangement, it is better than if the mass of the working class should suffer. It has been trying to put through a law preventing landlords from evicting a tenant for non-payment of rent when the tenant is a good steady workman whose trade is to blame more than he is.

"The Budget that is now under discussion is another help to the working class. By cutting down the duties on tea, sugar, and other ar-

ticles of everyday use, we figure a direct saving to the people of 30,000,000 pounds (over \$130,000,000) a year. When you consider how many of our poorer people live almost entirely on tea, jam, and biscuits, in all of which sugar is used, you will appreciate what the saving of two or three shillings a week (say 50 or 60 cents) means to them.

"In a more indirect way, our foreign policy has also kept steadily in mind the question of reducing unemployment. We realize that England cannot maintain its population without a healthy export trade. Before the war, Germany was our best customer—it took 45 per cent of all our exports. Now its buying power has been so cut down that it can buy very little from us. The result is that men who used to work in factories which sold their product to Germany are now out of a job.

"Our policy has therefore been directed toward putting Germany, and indeed all of Europe, into a condition where it can buy from us, and thus set the factory wheels rolling again.

"Some people were surprised at the recent overturn of the Poincaré Government in France. If it is not directly due to the Labor Government's policy, it certainly could not have happened if our Government had acted otherwise. Instead of contradicting and antagonizing the French Government, as other English parties wanted to do, which would certainly have aroused the French people to vote patriotically to support their Government, it was very friendly and courteous to them, but kept on pointing out the facts, giving the French people a chance in the meantime to judge the case on its merits without excitement or blind impulse.

"As far as wages are concerned, we cannot say that there has been a general improvement over pre-war times. Some classes of workmen, who were being terribly underpaid before the war, like the railroad men, have improved their position a little; others, like the coal-miners in many districts, are much worse off than they were then. When you think of the hundreds of thousands of unemployed men waiting for jobs, you can see how hard it has been to keep wages from slipping.

"All we can say is, those workers who were at the top of the scale have been pulled down, those who were at the bottom have moved up. Other-wise, working conditions, hours, and so on, have been improved, though it is not easy to say who is entitled to the credit for these changes."

In point of fact, however, the situation is as follows: There was a time when the majority of the workers in the trade received wages far above the minimum scale, some of them from \$65 to \$85 weekly. Today, however, the majority of the workers in the trade receive only the minimum scale, and \$50 a week is far too little for a man to make a living for himself and his family, particularly when we bear in mind that he is idle at least four months in the year.

Which brings us to the inevitable conclusion that, had the Protective Association been inclined to negotiate with the Union, had it wanted peace in the industry, these five points could have been debated and adopted. They are just, consistent and have the interests of the entire industry at heart. It seems, however, that the Protective group wants war and, frankly, we cannot quite understand them.

Is it possible, indeed, that they are beginning to believe that the time has come when they think they can destroy the Union? Are they losing sight of the fact that our Union today is stronger, more determined and in better position to defend itself than ever before in its existence? Or is it that the Association, through its attorney is trying to line up the public on its side through some untenable specious arguments? Or is it not clear to them that, through their answer, they are provoking a conflict in the industry though they preface it by a sweet declaration of peaceful intentions?

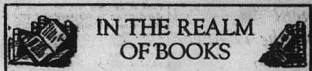
The true reply to all these questions we shall receive in the next few days. But it seems to us that it is not yet too late for the manufacturers to change their brutal front. The curtain has not yet fallen on the discussion period of this dramatic situation. They can still realize that the Union's program is the only road that will lead the industry out of the "frantically chaotic condition" which they themselves admit it is in.

sense, entirely. They are so clear and just, that they are truly unanswerable. It is laughable to assert that the demand for unemployment insurance is undebatable, while the entire civilized world is considering it and in a great many countries has introduced it as a means of solving some of the worst evils of our industrial system.

To say that the demand for a forty-hour week is unjustifiable proves again that our manufacturers have not given any thought to these demands. The fact is that, owing to the development of machinery and work methods in the cloak industry during the past few years, the workers are producing more in forty-four hours than they used to make many years ago in fifty, sixty and seventy hours. Yet, had there been work enough in the cloak industry for all who are engaged in it, the contention of the manufacturers might have had some color of logic. The fact is, however, that under the 44-hour work-week, there are thousands of workers who are going idle for months, which is the best proof that the 44-hour week is entirely too long for present industrial conditions, and that the 40-hour week is the next logical step for it. Besides, the introduction of a 40-hour week will help a great deal towards the establishment of a guaranteed number of work-weeks.

Unless our employers of the Protective group still hope to convert their shops into scab dens, we fail to see why they can object to a union-sanitary label, which would certify to the consuming public that the garments were made in clean, healthful union shops.

Mr. Klein's argument against an increased minimum wage scale is just as groundless. He himself asserts "that very few operators receive the minimum scale; some are paid as high as from \$60 to \$85 weekly." If this be the case, why are his clients so incensed against the demand for an increased minimum scale, if there are only such a few who receive the minimum?



Storm Clouds

The Prospects of Industrial Civilization. By Bertrand Russell. In Collaboration with Dora Russell. New York: The Century Co., 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

There is a sombre fascination in this latest book by Bertrand Russell, a fascination that wrings the emotions even at those moments when the mind stands aloof. Storm clouds have almost a dark splendor, and Mr. Russell's glance beyond the horizon of time reveals little to him but gathering storms. The march of events has nothing of certainty for him. There are numerous roads along which the passing years may push us; and who can say whether the millennium or destruction lies at the end of the one we shall choose? Certainly not Mr. Russell.

His book is an attempt to set up sign-posts. "This way lies life; that way, destruction." In its first part, he analyzes the various forces of modern life that are pushing us forward in different directions; in the second, he maps out the road he would have us take. There is nothing of startling novelty in his analysis; every fact he urges has been brought forward before. Yet the effect of their combination, of how they are pieced together, is a challenge to the complacency of any head—capitalist or Socialist, revolutionary or reformist.

Four years ago Bertrand Russell and Dora Russell travelled through Russia. There, they had heard, a new order was in construction. Both of them were eager for new worlds; both of them watched the madness of things as they are with profound disillusion and sadness. Bertrand Russell left Russia "recoiling in disappointment"; Dora Russell, "expanding in the delight of fresh hope and knowledge." From Russia they went to China to test these two opposite reactions in the crucible of today's most unspoiled antiquity. Then, as innumerable philosophers have done before, this most pessimistic, cynical, courageous, and hopeful philosopher wrote sick humanity its diagnosis and prescription.

Mr. Russell's diagnosis of humanity's disease is a document of mixed value. Always stimulating, it exhibits at times peculiar lacks. Condemnations are delivered often in too unqualified and unequivocal terms. Tendencies are pointed with too undeviating a pessimism. It may be, of course, that the sheer novelty of some of his conclusions gives them a starkness really greater than Mr. Russell intended them to have. But the picture of three great land empires struggling for the world's raw materials lingers in the mind long after all Russell's hopes and brave stoicisms have faded.

For Mr. Russell, mankind today suffers from two great problems (I hesitate to call them evils because even Mr. Russell sees in them some potentialities for good). We are afflicted with industrialism and nationalism. It is the mechanization of life, rather than mere private ownership, which is the fundamental problem of modern times; mechanization and the ever-growing geographical unit—the expanding human herds which men call their nations. Although industrialism and nationalism possess many close interrelations, each problem is separate and distinct. Each demands a separate solution.

Industrialism presents certain clear-cut problems. Its development car-

ries with it an increasing interdependence of man upon man; an increasing importance of Government and organization; a waning influence of individuals and the decay of the family, of love and romance, and of art. These are inherent tendencies of unchecked industrialism. Nationalism, however, prevents a straight development on all these lines, especially on the promising lines of world interdependence. It is through the conflicts of nationalism and industrialism, indeed, that the world stands in danger of being driven back to barbarism. Every little nation wants to advance itself at the expense of all its neighbors; the advances of industrialism permit quantity destruction by scientific warfare. Permit these two to work unchecked, and civilization is inevitably doomed.

But there are cures: for industrialism Mr. Russell advances the remedy of Socialism, for nationalism the cure of internationalism. However, many precautions must be set forth before these cures can be administered—precautions that have been written for all who will read by the heavy hand of experience. Russia has attempted to give us Socialism in an unwepted country. Her people were politically ready, but mechanically unfit. She failed and is settling out on the long path of building up an industrialism through what Lenin called State Capitalism. Moreover (according to Mr. Russell) Russia has proved for us that Socialism does not mean the waning of imperialist struggles for raw materials. Georgia possessed oil and Russia entered lustily into the scramble for that Georgian riches. No, Socialism with an unchecked nationalism may be expected to sharpen the horror of imperialist war. For then we shall not fight for markets "for a gang of capitalists" but for raw materials for our nations (now producing rather than trading units). Socialism may come more easily to mechanically developed countries, e. g. America, but there the very strength of the capitalists and the prosperity of the system renders the people politically uneasy.

Mr. Russell thus diagnoses. His prescription attempts to bring out his answer to the problem of what constitutes a good social system. And in this second part, the faults of the first stand clearly revealed. For instance, Mr. Russell is certain that modern political government, especially in America, is dominated by the rich men and the powerful trusts. By and large, this is true, but Part II of his book shows how conscious he is of all the currents that exist. For instance on page 198 he recognizes the influence upon the State of any organized group conscious of what they want—e. g. the trade unions as well as the trusts. If the trusts to day completely dominate American Government, may it not be because the unions thus far have refused to use their political power as a group? On page 204 again, he reveals the helplessness of a "plutocratic creditor" before a Government which is determined to repudiate its internal debts. And on page 229 he gives specific instances of minority influence: (other than that of rich men)

upon the State. Similarly his actual projection of tendencies outlined in the first part of his book qualifies much of the bleak pessimism of their first statement. To cite just one example, he recognizes some of the positive content of "groupism." (p. 184 ff.)

The actual prescription written by Mr. Russell has in it much wisdom. His demands upon a social system before he is willing to call it good certainly lie in the Magna Charta of every worker. Instinctive happiness, friendly feeling, beauty, and knowledge, are not these things the rightfulness of life? Standing against before the horrors of class war and nationalist war, he pleads for the introduction of the new system "with as little force as possible." He believes a little force will be enough because he believes that reason possesses more influence over Man's actions than it is at present fashionable to

admit. He hopes in a word for a social system whose individuals will be the center of communal life and whose communal life will be recognized part of every individuality.

A provocative book, as all Mr. Russell has to say is provocative. There is a certain beauty in the very way his mind works—complex wholes melt easily into elements. Moreover, Mr. Russell says all he has to say with simplicity and spice. His definitions of capitalists, of political parties (p. 219) of impartiality (p. 225); his statement of the advantages brought man by the wireless (p. 185-186), etc., are gems of sharp yet softly understanding sarcasm. If storm clouds have meaning for you, read Mr. Russell's ideas on the prospects of the world we live in. You may disagree violently with some of his notions on when storm is brewing, but it will help you to discover just why.

In Germany—Weimar

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

III

Weimar, capital of Thuringia, was under the control of a Socialist Government when we were there. It was natural enough that the people of Thuringia should look to this, their Government, for relief. They looked to the Socialists for the solution to their vexing problems. But the relief was not forthcoming, the problems remained unsolved. Not because the Socialist Government was not on the job, as it were, but because it, too, did not have the wherewithal to render the kind of service the people needed. They were doing their best for those they represented, to be sure, but at that they could do very little.

To illustrate, we went to a state convention of organized teachers where the curriculum was to be discussed. But instead of discussing the curriculum they discussed the economic status of the school children and their own. Teachers from small towns reported that they were so far behind in payment of their salaries that they could no longer get credit in restaurants of the town and therefore found themselves in a position where they could get no food. For ten days one of them lived on two herrings and black bread! Then he got sick and had to go away. Since his return, friends had been feeding him, a generosity which he could not continue to accept because the friends' own resources were so slender. The teachers' demand was that the Government pay them on time. The Government had no money. There was no paper in the school. The Government could do nothing for it. Hence complaints and dissatisfaction. There was not one school in the whole of Thuringia which had any coal for the coming winter. Not having any money, the Government could not supply the much needed warmth in the schools. There was no evidence of hostility toward the Socialists in power; on the contrary, there seemed to be a feeling of understanding. Both the people and the Government were in a helpless, and for the time being in a very hopeless, position. Both knew the underlying cause of their misery but could do nothing to alleviate the present situation.

We went to other meetings of organized workers. It was at the time when the question of whether or not passive resistance should be given up. We listened to arguments from both

sides. The majority of the union men seemed tired of it all. They wanted work. Work meant bread for their children. They were not, lacking any spirit—no new ideas, no ideas and hunger that they all Unemployment—want, want everywhere!

Weimar is not famous for its industries. In fact it is not an industrial town at all. The industries of Thuringia are located in great industrial centers not far outside of Weimar. But Weimar is famous because it is the home of Goethe and Schiller. The modest little houses where Schiller lived, wrote and died, is still there. We went to see it. For a small admission fee we were led to the top floor where the rooms were supposed to be just as he had left them—his modest desk, book-case, table, bed and family portraits in their original places. First editions of his works, manuscripts and photographs are just where they were. A very humble abode indeed for the man who wrote such great poetry and drama! Not so with Goethe's home. Here is space and elaborateness. As we walked from room to room, we were aware of the many-sided greatness of this man. One realizes that he was not only a great poet and dramatist, but a statesman, a scientist, a biologist, a naturalist and artist. He was a traveler when traveling had to be done without the modern conveniences. We saw his folding camp stool which was his trunk by day, and which he took on his famous Italian trip. All of his collections, writings, paintings and sculpture are in his home, which he left to the State to be turned into a museum.

His summer house is located in the center of the beautiful public park. Here he would come and work in seclusion. Here it was that he composed some of his loveliest bits of poetry—fragments that will live forever. It was more than interesting at this time to read his

"Wer nie sein Brot in Traenen ass,
Wer nie durch Kummerwelle Nacht
Als selbst Lager weinend sass,
Der kennt auch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte."

which Carlyle has translated:

Who never ate his bread in sorrow,
Who never spent the midnight hours
Weeping and waiting for the morn-
row,
He knows you not, ye heavenly powers.

Whether the people of Weimar know the heavenly powers, I cannot say, but they know what it means to eat their bread in sorrow. It does not doubt. It was evident everywhere that if they have bread to eat, it was mixed with their own bitter tears—tears of disillusionment, hopelessness and despair.

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

FOREIGN ITEMS

CHINA

CHILD LABOR.

Since the establishment of the International Labor Organization the movement to better conditions of life and labor for the wage-earner has been accelerated particularly in the field of children and young persons employed in industry. Child labor legislation has been established in practically every civilized country, and a movement is now on foot in China to protect the young in industry.

It will be remembered that it was through the medium of the International Labor Organization that the conditions of the child workers in the carpet manufacturing industry in the Kerman district of Persia were ameliorated. Where formerly the children started working at the looms in their fifth year, they can not now be employed before their fourteenth birthday.

Conditions in China are somewhat identical with those in Persia as regards child labor. Modern machinery has reduced the skill needed for operation so that women and children, who are cheaper than men, may be employed. It is estimated that in the cotton mills in China 40 per cent of the employees are women, 40 per cent children and only 20 per cent men. In the silk industry in Central and South China nearly all the workers are women and girls. The estimate for all branches of industry in China show 20 per cent boys and girls under fourteen years of age.

The first attempt at State regulation was recently made when the Board of Agriculture and Commerce published twenty-eight articles governing the conditions of employment. Among the main features may be mentioned the prohibition of child labor under ten years for boys and twelve years for girls; and the institution of less strenuous working conditions of junior workers, boys ten to seventeen and girls twelve to eighteen. Furthermore, employers are forbidden to employ junior workers at night, i. e., from 8 o'clock p. m. to 4 o'clock a. m.

NEWS OF THE MONTH

(BY COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN PRESS-SCIENCE SERVICE)



HOLDING HIS OWN



DOMESTIC ITEMS

MOTHER MORTALITY HIGH IN CAPITAL.

More mothers die, from childbirth in the nation's capital than in any other section of the United States, according to Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the United States Children's Bureau.

Census figures for 1922 show that the District of Columbia had a maternal mortality rate of 7.1. This means that for every thousand babies born alive in the District during that year seven mothers died from causes connected with childbirth.

Comparing American rates with those of twenty-two foreign countries, the children's bureau found that a mother's chances to escape death from childbirth were better in every country, including Italy, Japan, South Africa, Spain and Hungary, than in Washington, D. C.

WORKERS' ILL HEALTH LESSENS PRODUCTION.

Physicians and industrial hygiene authorities, in association with the New York State Labor Department, are arranging to study hygienic conditions in industry. Dr. W. Gilman Thompson is chairman of an organization formed for that purpose.

"Quite recently the State, through legislation, has indorsed the principle that the worker who is seriously incapacitated through the handling of poisonous substances, such as lead, for example, is just as worthy of compensation by his employer who has failed to protect him adequately, as if he had received some surgical accident through similar neglect to provide proper precautions against it," said Dr. Thompson.

"This principle has long been recognized in England and in other foreign countries, and its recent adoption by the State of New York has led to legislation declaring that nineteen occupational diseases are compensable. There is a probability that others will be added to this list in the near future, as experience may justify."

SECRET TAX RETURNS-REJECTED BY SENATE.

The administration received the hardest jolt since it came in power when the Senate voted for full publicity of tax returns. The majority party attempted to placate a popular demand for this publicity by presenting a carefully drawn provision in the Mellon bill that would allow inspection of tax details only by authorized congressional committees. The Senate rejected this proposal and by a two-to-one vote declared for full publicity.

By practically the same vote the Senate adopted another provision which will give public access to all claims for abatements or refunds of income tax payments and the subsequent decisions on such pleas.

Under the present law, nothing is more sacredly guarded than income tax returns and refunds of taxes. The latter is increasing by leaps and bounds and now runs into the millions of dollars on the word of treasury officials. The proceedings are considered as a confidential matter between treasury officials and the tax claimant.

COMPANY "UNION" AIDS WAGE-CUTTING EMPLOYER.

The Four L Bulletin, official organ of the lumbermen's company "union," in Portland, Oregon, boasts that no member of this "union" is striking against wage cuts. Several mills lowered rates and unorganized employees suspended work.

The management of the Dollar-Portland Lumber Company in this city called for a 12 1/2 per cent cut, but the company "union" asked that a 10 per cent reduction be the limit. The management ordered the 12 1/2 per cent cut and the workers quit. Members of the "union" now complain that the company violated the rules of its "union" by enforcing this excessive reduction.

ARBITRATION IN MOVIES.

Arbitration is supplanting law suits in the motion picture industry, according to counsel for the Films Board of Trade, in a report just made public. It is stated that more than 5,000 disputes throughout the country have been disposed of in the past year.

RESTRICTED PRODUCTION.

In his annual report President Shoup of the Pacific Oil Company states that the management "deemed it prudent" to restrict production the past year. This sabotaging did not affect profits, as a surplus of \$1,938,111 after the payment of \$7,000,000 in cash dividends is reported.

LESS MEN EMPLOYED; LOWER WAGES IN APRIL.

Employment in manufacturing industries in the United States decreased 2.1 per cent in April, pay roll totals decreased 2.5 per cent and per capita earnings fell 0.4 per cent, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports.

The figures, based on a survey of 8,422 establishments in 52 industries, showed 2,706,709 employees with total earnings for one week in April of \$71,906,302, compared with 2,765,953 employees and total pay rolls of \$73,834,536 in March.

FEDERAL WORKERS PAY TOO MUCH RENT

Federal employees in the District of Columbia are paying two-thirds of their wages for rent, said Assistant Attorney General Underwood, in urging Justice Stafford not to enjoin the enforcement of the rent regulation law, that has been extended by Congress.

Mr. Underwood told the court there are 65,000 government employees who receive an average wage of 1,408 a year. Instead of paying one-fourth of this amount for rent, they are now paying nearly two-thirds, said Mr. Underwood.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

A Course in Trade Union Policies and Tactics

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

Given at the

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION,
Seasons 1922-23 and 1923-24

LESSON 4—Continued.

6. Next year, Gompers and the leaders of the International unions turned the tables. Some of the prominent Socialists, led by Daniel DeLeon, became disheartened and left the Federation to organize independent unions that would endorse Socialism and the Socialist Labor party. Those that remained were naturally much weakened.
- VI. 1. The American Federation of Labor set out at first on a purely lobbying program.
2. It did not succeed in getting results through this procedure, and embarked in 1904 upon the policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies," by endorsing candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties favorable to Labor, and by encouraging union men to stand for them.
3. As a result of this new policy, Gompers and a committee appeared before the platform committee of the Republican convention. Receiving little response, they turned to the Democrats. The latter adopted several planks favorable to Labor.
4. Since then, the American Federation of Labor has endorsed and campaigned for the Democratic party nationally, but has endorsed Democrats and Republicans for Federal and State offices.
- VII. 1. That element of the Socialists, which opposed abandoning the American Federation of Labor organized the Socialist Party in 1901.
2. They set up the principle of not interfering with the internal affairs of the trade unions, but of trying to convert them to Socialism.
3. Up to the war they made fair headway, but with the war the Socialists and radicals divided into factions, and have been kept too busy fighting each other to carry on their propaganda work.
4. On the other hand, the nonpartisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor has introduced a variety of political opinions among the workers, so that they do not act as a unit on the political field as they do on the economic field.
5. At present, there is chaos and confusion in the political realm of the Labor movement.

READINGS:

- Hunter, Robert—Labor in Politics; The Socialist Party 1915.
Marot, Helen—American Labor Unions; Chapter XLX, Labor in Politics—Holt, 1914; History of Trade Unionism in the United States; Chapter IV, Why There is not a Labor Party. Macmillan, 1922.
Hillquit, Morris—History of Socialism in the United States; Chapter IV, Present Day Socialism.
Commons and Associates—History of Labor in the United States; Vol. I, Part II, Chapter II, Rise and Growth in Philadelphia; Chapter III, Workmen's Parties in New York; Chapter IV, Spread of the Movement; Chapter V, New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and other Workmen. Vol. 2, Part VI, Chapter II, Revolutionary Beginnings; Chapter IV, The Greenback Labor Agitation; Chapter VI, From Socialism 1876-1880; Anarchism and Syndicalism 1876-1880; Chapter XII, The Political Upheaval, 1896-1897; pp. 509-520, The Latest Attempts Towards a Labor Party.

LESSON 5—The Intellectual in the Labor Movement.

- I. In the Labor movement the term intellectual is used to designate those persons whose economic interest and livelihood lie, for the time being, in any direction other than that of wages derived from their own manual work.
- II. More recently, the term has been restricted to exclude so-called brain workers, who do not earn their livelihood by manual work, such as teachers, actors, scientific workers, etc. These have organized their unions on the same lines as other workers, and have thereby become a part of the Labor movement, subject to the discipline of their union.
- III. With this qualification, the word intellectual applies to persons who have an interest in the Labor movement but are not necessarily subject to the discipline of the organizations composing the Labor movement. Most of the intellectuals have come from the following groups:
 - a. Business men and capitalists with a philanthropic or political turn of mind.
 - b. Professional men, especially lawyers and editors, and more recently educators, economists, accountants, engineers, medical men, etc.
 - c. Speculative philosophers and reformers.
 - d. A number began as union men and workers and later acquired a profession or business, but retained their interest in the Labor movement.

Our Convention and Workers' Education

While reading the proceedings of our last convention, one cannot escape noticing that workers' education occupied a prominent place at the convention. This is told by the many messages received from scholars, from our Students' Council, from Labor leaders and from representatives of the workers' education movement.

It is one more demonstration of the accomplishments of our International Union. No matter what external or internal troubles we may have, the outstanding factor is that our International Union always responds to every progressive movement which tends to advance the interest of the workers not only economically but intellectually as well. No one need defend any more the necessity of workers' education within the trade unions that was initiated by our International. This is recognized by the Labor movement; and slowly but steadily this ideal is advancing. We may, with confidence, say that we will see the result of it in the near future.

The Report of the Committee on Young People's Trade Union Education

At this memorable Convention, our International quietly but clearly inaugurated another movement, and this is to educate the children of the members of our organization. For this purpose a special committee was created, the Committee on Young People's Trade Union Education, and its report was unanimously adopted by the Convention. Its significance will be fully appreciated in the future. We all realize the influence that surroundings, environment and atmosphere have on the child, the future citizen, and hence on society as a whole. The future form of society depends upon the child of today and this the Committee on Young People's Trade Union Education, that rendered its report at our last Convention, stated clearly. It pointed out the importance of the mother in the life of the child. She molds his

character and inspires him to new ideals. Hence, this report comments on the necessity for the education of the wives of our members, the mothers of the next generation.

The Report of the Committee on Education

The report of the Committee on Education is comprehensive and instructive. The Committee approves the work of the Educational Department for the last two years and lauds the achievements in the field of workers' education and instructs the incoming General Executive Board to extend still further our work in the field of mass education and to the cities and towns outside of New York where our members reside. It also instructs the General Executive Board to inaugurate a new activity,—the establishment of libraries in which books dealing with social and economic Labor questions should find place.

This report proudly points to the fact that one of the great achievements of our International Union during its twenty-five years' existence is the establishment of the Educational Department of our International, which led to the movement for workers' education within the trade unions.

This report, too, will be published in full. We hope that our hundreds of delegates who listened to these two reports will cooperate with our Educational Department to make our work a still greater success.

In the following issues on the educational page of JUSTICE our members will read a plan worked out by the Educational Department. If the executive boards of our local unions and our active membership in general will give their full cooperation to this plan, we do hope that at the next convention of our International we will come with still greater achievements in the field of workers' education.

The reports of both committees will be published on this page of JUSTICE in full. F. M. C.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL

In a pamphlet called "A Letter to the Delegates of the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U., from the General Executive Board, Boston, May 5, 1924," the General Executive Board informs the delegates to our Jubilee Convention that the history of our International Union, which the Cleveland Convention instructed us to prepare, will soon be ready. It further informs them that this history of the I. L. G. W. U. is written by Dr. Louis Levine, formerly Professor of Economics in the University of Montana and author of many important works on economic and Labor problems.

Under the title "Seventeen Points About Your History" is a short description of the main points contained in the history. It is then followed by a table of contents. Following a preface and introduction, there is a description of the five parts of our prospective history.

There are a limited number of these

REPORT OF OUR EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES, 1922-1924

The report of the activities of our Educational Department which was published in JUSTICE now appears in a 24-page pamphlet, size 8x7 1/4 inches. The objects and aims of our educational activities as well as the work of the Educational Department are described in it. There are also described the courses and lectures that were arranged by the Educational Department and the names of the teachers and lecturers who gave them. This pamphlet gives not only an idea of the activities of our Educational Department but also of the workers' educational movement in this country as a whole.

The pamphlet can be obtained free at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

pamphlets which remained over from the Convention for distribution. Any member of our International can obtain one free at our Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

RUSSIAN-POLISH BRANCH

В ВНИМАНИЕ.

Ветникского комитета, что забастовка в нашей индустрии неизбежна. Немецко-польский ответ фабрикантов "Протекст Ассоциация" на требования кинона не оставляет никакого выхода для мирного улаживания параллельного для кинона вопроса. Ответ этот конечно написан таким образом для капиталистической прессы, дабы возмущения против кинона общественности не было.

В принципе мы согласны с киноном в необходимости стабилизации нашей индустрии, которая находится в запущенном состоянии. Поэтому для поддержания индустрии и взаимного благополучия хозяина и работника, для того чтобы промышленность эта осталась в пределах Нью Йорка, мы и согласны поступить с вами в переговорах для возобновления находящаяся в настоящее время в силе контракта с киноном, с которыми, находящимися на очень невыгодных условиях, заключенных, если мы обобщим намерения протекст, контракт, как для нашего благополучия, так и в интересах публики и индустрии в целом, на которых это отказывается, если мы не с вами согласны и предотвращать троякий конфликт.

Мы надеемся, что вы примете в почете эти соображения в том же духе, в каком мы их выражаем, т. е., что мы проблем внести мир в индустрию и благополучию всех заинтересованных в ней.

Для того, чтобы мы были правдивы помысли, необходимо сказать, что мы не можем согласиться с требованием об ограничении числа контрактов, которые мы предлагаем, которые мы предлагаем и поднятую и стабилизацию индустрии и спарит нас от конкуренции контракторов не принадлежащих и не связанных и работающих в денежных помещениях и залах, благодаря чему они имеют возможность производить одеску дешевле нас.

Мы уверены, что если это будет сделано, то производство хоть частично будет выведено от нуля, и мы, киноном, им вполне существуем. Вам в этом пункте (ограничение числа контрактов). В последнем мы можем быть полезны вам в производстве в жизни этого предложения, мы согласны сделать все от нас зависящее.

1) Что же касается других взаимных киноном требований, которые относятся к нам, то во первых, мы не можем согласиться с требованием увеличить число недель работы в год, так как это увеличивает стоимость производства. Поэтому считаем этот пункт не подлежащим обсуждению и не можем поэтому вопросу войти с вами в переговоры.

2) Так как страхование от безработицы увеличивает стоимость производства и в зависимости от этого лежит тягостно на потребителя, то мы не считаем этот вопрос подлежащим дебату и не можем согласиться на это с вами об обсуждении.

3) Наме предложение увеличить рабочее время до 40 часов в неделю ведет к увеличению стоимости производства одески и поэтому мы не можем обсуждать с вами этого вопроса.

4) Наме предложение внести в индустрию киноный знак (звезд) уже обсуждалось много раз в прошлом и мы не можем и в настоящее время согласиться на это. Поэтому считаем в этот пункт не подлежащим обсуждению.

5) Не можем мы согласиться в настоящее время и на увеличение заработной платы, так как по нашему мнению настоящее условия стоимости жизни не требуют увеличения заработной платы.

С почтением,

ГЕОРГ ДЖАВЛОВ,

Председатель фабрикантов Протекст Ассоциация.

Из этого видно, что хозяина, то что называется, мускулы выла в глаза

публики. Выше мы соглашались с тем что индустрия находится в запущенном состоянии, существуют идеи кинона по-прежнему не на твердую почву, говорят что в интересах публики, индустрии и рабочих желают избежать забастовки и ridon со всем этим не соглашались почти ни с одной из идей. Предлагаем индустрии для устранения всех диспропорций, расей, и в то же время не представляя со своей стороны никаких соображений, не указывая никаких путей для прекращения создавшегося невыносимого положения в промышленности.

С другой стороны фабриканты отказались дебатировать предложенные киноном условия не принимая участия в каждом параграфе ссылки на то, что всякое требование кинона ведет к увеличению стоимости производства.

Тогда как совершенно наоборот согласно требованиям кинона стоимость производства безусловно уменьшится. Возьмем для примера первое требование кинона об ограничении числа контрактов. Если это требование будет удовлетворено, то сразу же число мастеров не имеющих опыта 3,000, которые работают теперь от 4 до 7 месяцев в год, будет уменьшено до, в среднем случае, 1,500 мастеров, а те и больше, которые будут работать от 9 до 12 месяцев в год. Таким образом один этот пункт снижает индустрию расходам не содержащих 1,500 мастеров, 1,500 долл., 1,500 филонов и тысячи других на произведение, не занятии, в индустрии и служащих. Таким образом принятие этой меры сэкономит "публике" десятки миллионов долларов каждый год.

Требование минимум 36 недель работы в году очень тесно связано с требованием ограничения числа контрактов, так как очень ясно, что если мастерская работает только шесть месяцев в году, в течение десятилетия пятьдесят и наполовину возмущения служащих индустрии, то натурально, что стоимость производства увеличится, и наоборот, если мастерская, со всем штатом необходимых служащих работает целый год, то стоимость производства понизится.

В ВНИМАНИЕ.

На состоявшемся в понедельник массовом собрании Русско-Польского Отдела Нью-Йоркского, был избран делегат представителя Р.-П. О. на Конференцию Интернационального Юниона портовых Дамского Порта. Делегат был избран в сборе.

Также был избран в сборе наш Бюро Директоров и Директор Бюро — подготовления и забастовки.

М. Шевченко, Секретарь.

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The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Over 1,200 members crowded the large meeting-room of Arlington Hall last Monday night, May 26, and heard the report of Manager Dubinsky on the latest developments in the Cloak and Suit Industry with respect to the renewal of the agreement. The report was received in deep silence. It was apparent that the members were interested. The members also, by a rising vote, unanimously adopted a resolution, expressing condemnation of the arbitrary stand of the Jobbing and Protective Associations, and pledged their fullest support in the event of a strike for the successful institution of the necessary and much-needed reforms proposed by the General Executive Board.

The Manager reported that the only conference held since the leadership of the union returned from the convention in Boston was with the Protective Association. The officers had expected, while yet in Boston, that a conference would take place with the jobbers. However, the news reached the union at the convention that the jobbers had given up their Labor Department. This information came through the press; no official notification had been communicated. Hence, when the representatives of the International and the Job Board returned to New York they awaited notification by the jobbers with respect to their final stand.

Cutters Condemn Attitude

Manager Dubinsky said that two meanings could be attached with regard to the giving up of the Labor department by the jobbers. One is that the jobbers felt their responsibility towards the industry, the workers and the public, and therefore left it to individuals to deal with the union. The second is that it is probably a gesture to scare the union into withdrawing its demands or modifying them.

That the members of Local 10 feel deeply incensed over the uncivilized attitude of the employers was shown when the resolution was adopted by them condemning the employers for their stand. The members did not expect that, after fourteen years of collective bargaining, the employers would assume such an arbitrary stand. They, therefore, in their resolution, upheld the General Executive Board's program, and pledged their moral and financial assistance to the union in the event that a strike would be called. When President Ansel called upon the members for approval of the resolution, the 1,200 men rose as one, signifying their unanimous vote for the resolution. And they in this way, too, expressed their condemnation of the employers' action.

The manager stated that the abolition by the President of the Association of its Labor Department concerns the union very little. There is little doubt but that the largest members of this Association will seek settlements with the union shortly after the calling of a strike, in the event that it will be called.

Quite a large group of these manufacturers practically their entire profit as their own pretension. Some employ one to five contractors and therefore the question of the limitation of the contractors is of grave concern to them. To other members of this association the giving up of the Labor Department carries with it the possibility of smashing the union. Dubinsky said this laughingly because, he said, such an attempt was made in previous years when the organization did not possess its present power, and that attempt failed miserably.

Manager Issues Call to Members
"If a strike should come," Dubin-

sky said during the course of his report, "it will be a different strike. The memorable strike of 1910 is no doubt fresh in the minds of many of you men gathered here. That strike was conducted for the purpose of organizing the union. In that year the only worth-while union which existed was the cutters' organization. In 1913 a strike was conducted against contractors. And in 1916 an attempt was made by the employers to break the influence of the union over the workers. This strike was the result of a lockout."

"As important as the strikes in 1910 and 1916 were, the strike of 1924, if it is called, will be the most important in the history of our union. We have secured conditions for the workers which have benefited them greatly. But the jobbing and contracting system of manufacturing cloaks and suits has created such a situation that the industry loudly calls for reconstruction. And unless a check is put to the chaotic condition which exists now the suffering of the workers will increase.

"There is lacking in this strike the phraseology which in the past tended to raise the passions of the workers. It is not now a question of an increase of a dollar or an hour less of work. We have seen that such increases without order in the industry lose their value. If we are engaged in a struggle this time it will be for the purpose of making the industry safe enough for the workers to retain their conditions and to make a decent living in it. This is what the program of the General Executive Board aims at. Cut-throat competition must be done away with. We will not allow the workers to be used by the employers as they will."

The situation in the industry is getting to be more critical as June 1 approaches, when the agreement officially expires. The members, in the meantime, should not fail to look for important and interesting news on the front page of this publication.

In order that every member of Local 10 should equally carry the responsibility in the event that a strike is called, the Executive Board had decided that no working cards will be issued to cloak and suit men on dressess without permission of the union.

Delegates to Convention Report

Brother Isidore Nagler, Chairman of Local 10's Delegates to the Convention, rendered an interesting report during the course of which he described to the members the action of the convention and the activities in it of the delegates by whom he was elected chairman. He said that it was the first time that he was honored with the leadership of a delegation.

The resolutions introduced by the delegates were read to the members and the action by the convention on these was reported. Nagler said that the delegates were very anxious to see the local receive the honors which were theirs by right of precedent. And in this the representatives of Local 10 succeeded, when Dubinsky was re-elected vice-president of the International, and Perlmutter was elected delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

Brother Samuel Perlmutter also reported. What struck him particularly at this convention were the solid ranks which the delegates from the various cutters' locals in the United States and Canada presented. And because of this every action of the cutters was well supported.

Increase in Per Capita

Manager Dubinsky touched on some of the important actions of the convention which are of great interest

to the entire membership. One was with respect to the increase in the per capita and the adoption by the convention of important amendments to the International Constitution which almost made for the complete revision of the constitution.

The manager stated that the members of the New York organization would shortly act upon an increase in dues to probably fifty cents per week. Two things prompted the General Executive Board to recommend the increase in the per capita: the financial resources of the International were taxed to the utmost because of great need for out-of-town organization work, and in order that the International may proceed with organizing work the General Executive Board seriously considered levying a \$10 assessment. The International, however, thought it more practical to increase the per capita instead of levying this assessment.

A large number of local unions from out-of-town appeared before the committee on organization and introduced resolutions calling upon the International to proceed with organization work. Montreal and Toronto, Canada, were more than ripe for active organization work. Committees from Philadelphia, Baltimore, San Francisco and Los Angeles also appeared and requested the International to organize the non-union workers of these cities.

Need for Organization in Vicinity of New York

Dubinsky particularly emphasized the great need at the present time, in view of the impending struggle in the cloak industry, of organization campaigns in the cities of the States bordering New York, and in the vicinity of the city. He mentioned Philadelphia as a very important cloak market. It is for this important reason that the International came to the convention recommending an increase in per capita, because an assessment and increased per capita would be too burdensome, and therefore an increase in per capita only was approved.

Dubinsky sensed that the members would be anxious to know when this will be taken up by the local. He said that according to the constitution of the International this increase should go into effect thirty days after the adjournment of the convention. However, in view of the situation in the cloak industry the increase will not become effective until after the renewal of the agreement.

Union Faces Critical Times

It was in speaking on the amendments to the constitution adopted by the convention that the interesting debate ensued between one of the speakers and the manager. Dubinsky said that some people termed the new constitution a "straight-jacket." He did not beg the question at all. He said that the new laws were rigid and they were intended as such. In normal times three would probably

be no need for such rigid laws. But due to the experience that the union has gone through during the last two years, when it was confronted with enemies from both without and within, and when some members tried to undermine the existence and hamper the work of the union, the convention was convinced that when the very foundations of an organization are being endangered, which has been built up with so many sacrifices and sufferings, laws must be enacted which will prevent destructive elements from further continuing their practices.

The union finds itself at present in an abnormal condition, and abnormal laws must be created. And only through these means will "normalcy" again prevail in our ranks.

One of the speakers, Brother Berlin, in discussing the report of the delegates and the manager, said that rigid laws would not tend to solidify the organization. He gave various instances where the aim was never accomplished by enacting rigid laws. He also criticized the convention for having assembled one of the delegates, whom he particularly knew to be an intelligent woman.

Manager Dubinsky, who was secretary to the Credential Committee of the International, was in a position to argue the contention of the speaker and to convince the membership, as well as the entire convention, that it is not a question of intelligence. It is simply this—those who are to legislate for the large membership of our Union and whom we expect to abide by its laws and decisions, cannot themselves be violators. And it happened that in the instance in question, the woman admitted before the Credential Committee and did not deny on the floor of the convention. She also criticized the membership in an outside organization for quite a number of months after the order of the General Executive Board was issued, thereby violating the rules of our organization. She withdrew only a month prior to the opening of the convention, in order to be eligible as a delegate to the convention.

Irrespective of how one might term these laws, whether "rigid," "straight-jackets," or anything else, they are a necessity for the organization in critical time. And the convention, realizing this, by an overwhelming vote, therefore, adopted them as the amended laws for our union.

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CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

REGULAR MEETINGMonday, June 9th
MISCELLANEOUS MEETINGMonday, June 16th
REGULAR MEETINGMonday, June 30th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place